1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

young to be married is addressed with her given name. Sisters share in the care of one another's young children for short periods. Following a woman's death, the surviving children are often brought up by a surviving sister, the rationalization being that the aunt is "the same like mother." A mother's sister will rarely exercise discipline to a particularly annoying sibling's child, and then only if the mother is not present. On the other hand, if the aunt is young, she is often unmercifully teased by a five or six year old youngster.

The relationship of the father's brothers to children is ideally close, the children being referred to as equivalent to true children and the paternal uncle the "same like father," although he is not called father. A man's brother is sometimes given the care of his children, following the death of the true parents. The relationship warrants respect on the younger person's part and sexual matters are never brought up in the presence of the paternal uncle.

A woman's brother refers to his sister's daughter as his own child, but the relationship between these relatives weakens when the man leaves the parents' camp following marriage. A reciprocal term is employed between a boy and his mother's brother. It was said to be all right to "talk fun," i.e., refer to salacious matters, with the mother's brother. The relationship of a child to its father's sister could not be observed.

The pattern of cross-cousin terminology may be summarized as follows:

	(m.s.)	(w.s.)
FSisS	(e)stai'e	(a)sla'
FSisD	(e)stsu'	ekle'
MBS	(a)sla'	(a)sla'
MBD	ekle' or (e)epa'	ekle'

Marriage between father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's son is prohibited. On the other hand, father's sister's son and mother's brother's daughter "can talk to each other" (i.e., they are permitted sexual teasing) and are preferential marriage mates.

One of the most important social relationships obtains between father-in-law and son-in-law. With an industrious son-in-law, a man can retire from active hunting and restrict himself to trapping some nearby stretch of line, while the younger man goes to a more remote part of the trap line and keeps the family supplied with meat. The son-in-law is also expected to offer his cooperation for housebuilding and other tasks in which the older man may require assistance. The ideal expectations patterning a son-in-law's behavior are often not fulfilled. Old Man had two sons-in-law living in his settlement and complained that both did not hunt often nor far enough and that they were not industrious trappers. In most observed cases, relations of the son-in-law to his father-in-law were characterized by respect and reserve coupled with a little good-natured kidding. There was no evidence of submission on the part of the younger man. Frances Lake men tend to show extreme shyness of the father-in-law. "They keep it like a hundred years ago," Old Man observed. Referring to his own youth, he illustrated the changing norms that are slowly crystallizing in this relationship when he said: "I used to talk fun with father-in-law. He shy but I laugh."

Extreme reserve tends to characterize the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law, but there is no restriction on these relatives remaining in one another's presence or on their eating and drinking together. When observed between Harry Lang and Mrs. Man, the mother-in-law avoidance seemed sustained more by the old woman's shyness and em-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Marriage and Adulthood

581 606 Marriage in Kaska society is essentially an unformalized contract between two individuals, the husband and wife. Only secondarily is it also a relationship between the man and his wife's father, to whom he becomes indebted for a certain period of cooperation or bride service. The latter element in the marital relationship appears to be gradually weakening in importance, with marriage becoming solely an interpersonal relationship between two people. Kaska marriage does not build up a set of important reciprocal relations between affinal relatives.

581 Marriage may be regarded as marking the transition from physiological maturity to social adulthood. Although adult economic roles and some measure of adult responsibility have been fostered on the boy and girl by adolescence, it is with marriage that the full burden of economic responsibility descends on the man and woman. Now the curtain is rung down on the carefree pursuit of fun by adolescents. This consideration is important in understanding the conscious motives to delay marriage.[30] Richard Day explained his reluctance by pointing out his current sexual freedom, which would be hampered by a wife's interference. Eva Ardo said: "I don't want to get married. Too hard time. That man lazy, what I gonna do?" Other informants were content to claim that they were too young to marry.

On the other hand marriage is recognized as the proper way of life. People cannot live comfortably alone. Children are desired but cannot be well brought up without a father. It is also ideally believed that once marriage is entered, it should become a permanent union of one man and one woman. The primary qualities desired of a husband are persistence and ability in hunting and trapping as well as a congenial temperament. A wife is desired who combines skill with attractiveness and modesty. While a man might prefer to marry a virgin, there is little manifest reluctance to marry a girl with sexual experience who has the desirable qualities expected of a wife. A woman who has acquired a reputation for adolescent promiscuity is not regarded as an ideal wife.

582 Police and missionary advice is cited by the Indians to back up the opinion that marriage at too early an age is undesirable. Although a number of marriages have recently been contracted between fifteen or sixteen year old girls and nineteen year old men, opinion holds that neither spouse should be below nineteen or twenty. Another argument maintains that premature marriage (presumably because it would be accompanied by premature sexual intercourse) results in a loss of blood and early aging. It is apparent that governmental and religious agents are attempting to discourage early marriage with the cooperation of Indians. Nevertheless, native attitudes disapproving of early unions are often ignored in practice.

Besides being governed by the principle of moiety exogamy, marriage is forbidden between any relatives closer than cousins and any cousins other than a girl's paternal cross-cousin and, complementarily, a boy's maternal cross-cousin. The marriage of such cross-cousins is regarded as preferable. Several existing marriages also reveal an approved pattern in which two sisters marry two brothers. Marriage with a white man is permitted and sometimes encouraged. Hesitation is sometimes expressed toward marriage outside of the part-

[30] Compare Parsons, *Holding Back in Crisis Ceremonialism* (1916).

1: Honigmann E-5 , (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

ner's tribe or with Indians outside of the Kaska nation, but plans for such unions are not 582
seriously blocked if previous marriages have helped cement relations between such groups, and if the match itself is regarded as a good one. It may also be noted that a desirable marriage between members of the same moiety is readily condoned if one of the partners, or a partner's mother (sometimes even a maternal grandmother), has been only conventionally classified with the side and originally came from a tribal district lacking dichotomous organization.[81]

Marriage may, as usually happens, be directly negotiated between the boy and girl or 584
it may be originated by the father of a marriageable daughter. Generally a boy proposes to a girl, who either indicates her acceptance or rejection or else refers him to her father. Consultation between the boy and his sweetheart's father is regarded as the desirable and correct way of negotiating marriage. Old Kean complained that nowadays many couples agree to live together without consulting the girl's parents and, as a result, worthless men often succeed in marrying good girls. The pattern of consulting the girl's father may be only indirectly accomplished, as when a shy youth requests permission to trap with a man, leaving the more fundamental motive of his petition to be inferred. The prospective father-in-law is ideally regarded as an arbiter qualified to pass upon a youth's suitability as a husband. During the period of field work one instance was noted of a confident and headstrong part-Tahltan girl asking a boy's father for permission to marry the latter's son. This behavior was recognized as atypical and was pointed to as an unfavorable sign. "That means they're not gonna stay together long," Old Man opined. "Better if boy run after the girl." River Joe, whose son was being sued, appeared less concerned with this aspect than with the fact that there was distant kinship between his and the girl's family. He invited the ethnographer to trace this relationship and was pleased to learn that the children were distant cross-cousins.

The second pattern of marriage is illustrated when, as sometimes happens, a man with a marriageable daughter keeps watch for a likely son-in-law. If among the unmarried young men (or white men) he notes one who is unrelated and who is not by birth a member of his daughter's moiety, he may invite the prospective son-in-law to trap with him for a winter. This situation, once the boy accepts the invitation, is calculated to bring the young people into intimate association. If the couple decide to stay together, the man's visit assumes the character of bride service and a marriage is recognized.

In cases where marriage has been initiated by a young couple and approval has been re- 583
ceived from a girl's father, the son-in-law changes his residence to the winter settlement of his fiancée and begins an indefinite period of bride service, which is ideally stated to last about a winter but which really has no formal termination in cases where matrilocal residence continues permanently. The boy hunts for his father-in-law's family and traps on the latter's trap line. Fur that the youth accumulates becomes his own, the family looking to the young man mainly for additional meat and necessary assistance. Sexual relations are implicitly permitted during the period of bride service, so that this relationship is often tantamount to marriage. In at least one instance, however, the expectations of a young man

[81] See above, p. 133.

Museum Specimen No. 52.) All collars and necklaces were fastened with strings at the back of the neck. They were considered emblematic of maidenhood. It was taken off when a girl got married or knew men. 301 [554]

When the girl entered among the people she donned new clothes of the same general kind as worn by women. Her high cap, if she had worn such, her robe and other old clothes were given away. The robe was generally cut up and the pieces distributed among the women. If her cap was of red or blue cloth it also was cut up in small pieces and given away as pieces for covering tongues of moccasins. Often at the same time the girl's mother cut up several of her dressed caribou or moose skins and gave them away to the women. If the father of the girl was wealthy he gave a feast to all the neighbors and presents of skins. The father gave the presents only to people of his own phratry. If he was of the Raven phratry, women of this phratry married to Wolf men received presents just like others of the phratry. The girl was now marriageable and could easily be distinguished as a marriageable maiden by her hair dress, ornaments etc. At the end of four years, after her becoming pubescent, if the girl was still unmarried she changed her style of face painting. From now until marriage she painted her face in fanciful styles, (if she so wished) and she increased the ornaments on her person. 884 292 884 65 884 582 302 301

884 on her person. She wore if she desired other short
582, and long necklaces of strings of dentalia and beads,
301 etc., such as used by women in general. These were in addition to those used by her as a marriageable young
602 woman. Although now living among the people the girl
884 had to act in a shy and retiring way and behave modestly. She should not talk much, especially with men. She spoke sometimes to her father but seldom to her brothers and male cousins. She could, however, look at them as she wished. Some informants say girls did not care to see their brothers and males of their own phratry and did not encourage conversation with them. They however deny the use by girls to bits of sinew which they tied to their collars, when they wished to speak with males of their own phratry (see Emmons P. 105). All these restrictions were removed at the end of four years.

301 Girls' ornaments were not used after marriage
582 or in later life. Down was not used on the head until after marriage and only for dances.

PUBERTY OF MALES.

881 The time at which boys commenced training was in a general way less definite than that of girls. Boys commenced training about the time their voices changed or when they were big enough to undertake hunting and go on trips alone. Thus some lads commenced to train at an earlier period than others. Some were nearly men

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[836]
[784]

A few stole away at night to visit or sleep with sweethearts, but this was not the rule. Most lads were afraid to have any connection with the opposite sex, at least during their training period, for it was believed a lad doing so would be retarded in obtaining a manitou and would never be a good hunter. It is said the young men had a great deal of fun among themselves and many did; married men consider the years they spent in the young men's lodge as the most happy time of their lives.

MARRIAGE

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Persons could only marry members of the opposite phratry and never one of their own. The male took the initiative and did the choosing in marrying the girl of his choice. His mother with her husband then went to see the girl's parents. If they were agreeable the marriage was thereupon arranged and the lad was told he would get the girl. The lad now commenced to work for his future parents-in-law. He gathered and split wood for them whenever he saw they required help of this kind, and he also hunted frequently and gave them the game he killed. He was very attentive to them and was constantly on the alert to do them some service. If his future parents-in-law went off on some lengthy hunting or trapping trip he accompanied them and worked for them. He also hunted

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generally they lived with the bridegroom's people and only visited the friends of the bride.

Whether the husband stayed chiefly with his wife's people or his own did not matter, for during his life time he was under obligation to give presents of food or other things to his wife's parents from time to time, and this was always expected of him. The wife was considered the property of her husband and his people, but this did not mean that others of his male relatives or phratry had any rights of intercourse with her, at least during her husband's life-time. Their children, if they had any, belonged by right to the wife's people, being by descent members of their mother's phratry.

In case of death of their father or mother the children, if young, were taken in charge by their mother's people. It seems this was more particularly the case if the mother died and the father did not marry his deceased wife's sister. Marriages between members of different clans and bands were encouraged because of the advantage of thus securing the right of hunting in different grounds.

Early marriages were believed in and most girls were married soon after they had finished their training at puberty. It is stated there were even some cases where girls were married before they were mature or had become pubescent.

or had become pubescent.

Girls when married at once took off their necklaces, collars and other ornaments they wore which were emblematic of maidenhood.

They also changed their style of hair dress and henceforth wore their hair as women did in a single braid which hung full length down the back. After marriage they seldom painted their faces except for dances. There were no marriage dances nor marriages by touching as among the Salish tribes. Neither were there marriages by elopement nor by feats of strength, etc., such as wrestling as is said to have been the case in some tribes to the North (Eskimo, for instance).

Sometimes a lad was suspected of sleeping with a girl and was found out. The girl's mother then asked her daughter the truth of the matter. She would acknowledge what she had done and give her reason as owing to her love for the lad or man. The mother then went to the lad's father and told him. If the two families were of about equal rank a marriage was then generally easily arranged. If however the lad's father was very wealthy or of high rank and the girl belonged to a very poor or low family there was often difficulty and much bad feeling. Perhaps the lad's father did not wish his son to marry into such a family. If the lad was in love with the girl he sometimes managed after a

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time to get his father to assent. The marriage was then consummated in the usual way. Once the girl was admitted into the family by marriage she at once was considered as high and equal with them, and vice verse if a poor boy thus married a girl of a wealthy or high family. If the father would not consent to his son's marriage and perhaps the son used no persuasion in the matter, then he had to settle the trouble by paying a lot of goods to the girl's parents. Often the payment was more than he would have given had it been regular marriage presents.

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Marriages were occasionally arranged for very young children. Two families well disposed towards each other and having young children of about equal age agreed between themselves that when their children grew up they should marry each other. This was sometimes carried out. No presents were given until the marriage actually took place. Sometimes, however, the two children when grown up did not like each other, in which case the agreement between the parents was allowed to lapse. Nothing of course had been done to make the agreement binding. Occasionally the parents of a very young girl or girl under age offered or promised their daughter when of age to some wealthy man or man who was much liked or esteemed. Generally when the girl came of age she became the wife of this man in the ordinary

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601

(e)stcus'e: my So, BrSo.
(e)stus'e: my Da, BrDa, SiDa, also stepdaughter.
gutil'e: my elBr; also, if older than ego, FaBrSo, MoSiSo, WiSiHu.
(e)tcit'le: my yBr; also, if younger than ego, FaBrSo, MoSiSo, WiSiHu.
(e)taa'te: my eSi; also, if older than ego, FaBrDa, MoSiDa, HuBrWi.
(e)ta'tse: my ySi; also, if younger than ego, FaBrDa, MoSiDa, HuBrWi.
(a)sia': my MoBrSo, FaSiSo (w.s.), HuBr (w.s.), WiBr (m.s.), SiHu (m.s.), WiSi (m.s.).
ekle': my MoBrDa, FaSiDa (w.s.), HuSi (w.s.) SiHu(w.s.), BrWi (w.s.).
(e)sii'on: my Wi.
se'lge: my Hu.
(e)spa': my WiSi (m.s.), BrWi (m.s.).
(e)stta': my SoSo, DaSo, SoDa, DaDa, SoWi.
senase': my DaHu.
(e)sya'e: my stepson.

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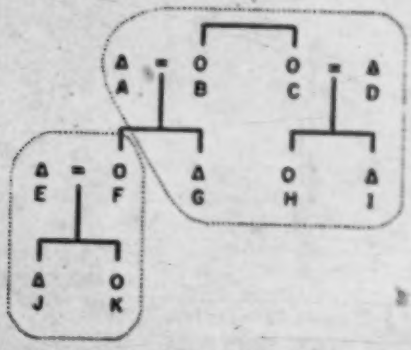

FIG. 6. Household and Extended Family Patterns.

601 The outstanding features of this kin-term system, which will be compared with kinship usages obtaining among adjacent Athapaskan tribes, may be briefly summarized. The present tense is used as a matter of preference.

1. Cousin terminology is of the Crow type with parallel and cross cousins called by different terms. MoBrSo and FaSiSo are called by different terms (man speaking) as well as MoBrDa and FaSiDa. A man classifies his FaSiSo with his grandfather, his FaSiDa with his grandmother. A woman classifies these cousins with her siblings-in-law, a feature consistent with asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage.[1]

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2. Bifurcate merging terminology identifies Mo and MoSi, So and BrSo.

3. Generation-type terminology results in the identification of Da, BrDa, and SiDa.

4. A reciprocal term applies between the MoBr and his SiSo.

5. The wife's and husband's parents are classified with grandparents. FaSi and FaSiDa are also grouped with the latter relatives. These failures to recognize collaterality represent further instances of bifurcate merging terminology.

[1] See below, p. 131.

4: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

6. While no term for DeDe was obtained, SeWi is designated by a distinctive term, which elsewhere in the intermontane area designates granddaughter. 601

7. There is a single grandchild term.

Turning to kinship behavior, joking obtained between grandparents and grandchildren. The former sometimes resented being teased and reprimanded junior relatives with some such remark as, "You'll be old too when your time comes. Look after yourself." Circumspect behavior obtained between siblings of opposite sex. An older boy avoided directly addressing his sister (real or classificatory) and limited his interpersonal relations with her.[2] Any reference to the sexual organs in the presence of siblings of like or opposite sex brought severe scolding. Some degree of familiarity obtained with father's siblings, although marriage with a paternal uncle or aunt was prohibited. Nevertheless sexual relations with the father's sister were countenanced. Following such intimacy the aunt is said to have "wanted me more." Respect governed behavior toward the mother's siblings. Part of a man's shyness with his mother's brother stemmed from the fact that the latter was regarded as a prospective father-in-law, to whom respect was also enjoined.[2] A man sometimes jokingly referred to his sister's children as "slaves." Strong reserve also marked relations between a man and his mother-in-law while a warm camaraderie linked brothers-in-law. However no undue familiarity entered their conversation. A man enjoyed teasing his brother's wife and sexual allusions were a prominent topic in their relations. For example, a married man might inform his sister-in-law that he would quit his wife in order to pursue her. Close friends addressed one another with the brother-in-law term, etc. No ritual acts marked the initiation of such friendships. Asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage with the MoBrDa or FaSiDa has already been mentioned.

Dease River Kaska. Below is a list of kinship terms employed among the Indians of the Dease River basin.

uncle: my MoPa, FaPa, WiPa (m.s.), HuPa (w.s.).
nephew: my MoBrSo, FaBrSo (m.s.), WiBrSo (m.s.), HuBrSo (w.s.).
ma: my Pa.
qus: my Ma, MoSi.
ants: my FaBr.
nan: my MoBr, SiSo, SiDa.
(nicknames: my So, DeSo.
natan: my Da, DeDa.
gunlin: my elBr; also, if older than ego, FaBrSo, MoSiSo.
Bebin: my yBr; also, if younger than ego, FaBrSo, MoSiSo.
gnats: my elSi; also, if older than ego, FaBrDa, MoSiDa.
ninats: my ySi; also, if younger than ego, FaBrDa, MoSiDa.
nda: my MoBrSo, WiPa (m.s.), SiSo (m.s.).
ngus: my MoBrDa (m.s.), HuBr (w.s.), SiDa (w.s.), WiSi (m.s.), BrWi (m.s.).
dan: my MoBrSo (w.s.), HuSi (w.s.), BrWi (w.s.).
ndan: my Wi.

[2] Among the Tlingit brother and sister taboos also obtained, these relatives not speaking to each other. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 145.

[2] See below, p. 122.

6: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1945) 1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Dease River
Kechika River

5. A wife's or husband's parents are merged with grandparents. 601
6. SoWi is classified with granddaughter but DaHu is terminologically differentiated.
7. There are two grandchildren terms applied according to sex and extended as indicated in (1) and (4) above.

The extension of bifurcate merging terminology to group Da and BrDa represents a difference between Dease River and Upper Liard River kinship usage that may indicate longer matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent in the former area.[6] 171

Clear evidence of joking between grandparents and grandchildren could not be obtained for the Kistagotena. The informant, himself an elderly man, stressed that grandparents exercised an educative and disciplinary role over grandchildren. A boy avoided his real or classificatory sisters after he as well as they had reached puberty. Prior to that time they played together freely. A sister continued to sew moccasins and other clothing for her brother as long as he remained in his parents' household. Following marriage she exchanged gifts with her brother's wife. Two Dease River informants manifested inexplicable reluctance to speak of cross-cousin marriage but asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage was finally admitted, together with the fact that these relatives remained on terms of easy familiarity even if they did not wed. A man's mother-in-law demanded respect and avoidance of undue intimacy. However the pair of relatives were permitted to engage in necessary conversation and could freely eat together. A son-in-law was expected to "feed" his father-in-law, especially when the latter became too old to hunt. A man joked freely with his wife's sister and brother's wife. The treatment of orphans and, perhaps, the fantasies of these unhappy children are reflected in "The Story of the Water-Man" related by Teit.[8] In this folk tale an orphaned boy who had been harshly treated succeeds in doing what nobody else had managed to achieve, breaking the Water Man's penis. The youth allows his uncle to gain credit for the feat. Eventually the uncle is killed, whereupon the boy overcomes Water Man, is made "chief" by the people, and takes his uncle's elder wife as his own. He refuses to have anything to do with her younger co-wife. Psychoanalytically minded readers will readily discern the Oedipus situation in this folktale. 602 [582] 736 538

Friendship patterns remain to be discussed. Two men might informally institute a close friendship, in which they would hunt and travel together. They addressed each other sealiPate ("just like one"), undoubtedly a cognate of the husband term. 572

Kechika River. Although informants showed no readiness to classify the Kechika (Muddy) people apart from the Dease River Indians, a number of differences in kin terminology between the two areas suggest that we isolate the former region at this point for special consideration. The differences are particularly interesting because they reflect a social structure which has not fully assimilated matrilineal, exogamous moiety organization. Such an interpretation coincides with the fact that the Muddy River is relatively peripheral to the area of intensive unilinear organization, the Northwest Coast. The kin terms collected from Mark Margoot, our Muddy River informant, follow. 601 171

[6] Murdock, *Social Structure* (1949), 148.
[8] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 480-482.

4: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

children, and when he realized this promise another reward accrued to the husband. Not only did marriage provide a dependable source of sexual gratification but a young man secured his reputation in the community when he no longer had to "bother" girls or other men's wives in order to obtain such satisfaction. On the other side, women welcomed marriage for its economic rewards, like an abundance of food and skins for clothing, as well as for sexual opportunities and the children that might follow.

Boys married around the age of 18; that is, when they were old enough to meet the primary qualification of a husband, namely, to be able to earn a living by hunting. Girls married when about 16 years old or shortly after menarche. An older brother ideally took a bride before his junior but an elder sibling's prerogatives were not so great that parents interfered with a younger brother's marriage plans. While great disparity between the ages of spouses sometimes occurred, it was never happily regarded. Public opinion maintained that because an old man could not make his living as easily as a younger man he could not expect to marry a young wife. The union of a mature woman and a young man received more tolerance but even then "much talk" might follow. Men incapable of making a living by hunting, or those who enjoyed the reputation for stinginess (they "try to hold on to meat and not share it; they hunt alone") sometimes never married. Also there were men who resembled the women previously described and showed little interest in women or sex. They too refrained from marrying.

Blood relatives as close as parallel cousins of the second and third generation came under the incest taboos as did members of the same matrilineal moiety. Marriage to a maternal cross cousin was preferred. Other unions were frequently concluded by sister exchange. Marriage outside of the tribe (macrocosmic group) was not too well regarded. People from abroad, it was felt, could rarely be trusted. Also intertribal marriage might lead to trouble in cases where the members of such a group learned about some mistreatment suffered by one of the outmarrying persons. Marriage to captive women certainly had a place, single men regarding the war party as an opportunity to secure a wife. If the defeated group happened to recognize moiety distinctions a warrior took only a woman of the opposite exogamous division. The initial treatment of captive wives was apt to be harsh but warmer relations usually followed the birth of children. Married men never secured additional spouses through war. Women objected strenuously to sharing a man with anyone but a closely related co-wife.* What appears to have been literal bride purchase obtained in unusual circumstances, as when a rich man negotiated for the daughter of a poor family. In return he paid clothing, other valuables, and presumably continued to supply food to his parents-in-law. Such a marriage was not highly esteemed.

Generally a period of bride service, lasting as long as two years, preceded marriage. During this interval a young man supplied meat, skins, and wood for the family of his intended bride, sometimes without directly announcing his intentions to the parents. His plans were probably well understood and he usually enjoyed sexual relations with the girl of his choice. Ideally the period of bride service allowed a youth to demonstrate

*But among the Sarsi a captive woman was said to have made an excellent co-wife. Honigmann, *Changes in Sarsi Social Culture* (manuscript).

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

upper Liard
Dease River

543 539 was gone. The children too had been killed. Her husband was gone. The elder brother said, "Don't think anything about it till we see our brother-in-law and see how he treats us."

The widower found a beaver den and set a net. He got two beaver. From one he removed the fat and let the other. Then his brothers-in-law came along. The husband began to weep. He asked them, "Have you seen what I have done?" He added, "You can kill me if you want to." The elder brother said, "I'll do nothing till you eat." The husband picked up a piece of fat and cooked it while holding it in his hand. This gesture demonstrated his courage. He knew he was in danger of being killed but was warding off danger with a show of fearlessness and endurance to pain. He offered some meat to the brothers. When they had eaten the elder said, "I'll let you go because your head is half-cooked now. I'm not going to bother you. I still have a younger sister at home."

593 171 Two observations may be offered concerning this anecdote, first, the responsibility assumed by a brother for his sister's normal conduct in relation to her husband stands out. Second, the use of deliberately induced pain to demonstrate courage should be noted. Both of these patterns are strongly and formally developed in the Plains Culture Area. Not only is the husband in the tale forgiven for killing the stingy woman but he is promised one of her sisters as a new wife.

586 [254] Divorce aroused neither sharp criticism or shame, although the deserted spouse might display more or less resentment. Sometimes a man used sorcery to kill the woman who had quit him or to cause her children by the subsequent husband to die. Reasons for divorce included the desire of one marriage partner for another man or woman (perhaps a man who could provide a richer living than the current husband), cruelty, and adultery. Women did not always permanently quit husbands who treated them badly. Sometimes a wife merely ran off to spend a night in the bush. In case of divorce older children remained with the husband while infants went with the mother. When he became grown-up, a son might return to his father. Both patterns suggest the recency and superficial imposition of matrilineal descent in the culture.

587 Economic benefits accrued to a widow and her children under the levirate. However, unless the real or classificatory brother were single or the husband of the widow's sister he could not live intimately with the woman but merely supported her and her children in his camp.[9] Under such circumstances a widow would remarry following a two year period of mourning and upon receiving the consent of her brother-in-law. To choose a new husband closely following a man's death, aroused the jealousy of the deceased husband's ghost. As already noted, when a wife died her father frequently invited the bereaved husband to choose a sister-in-law as his spouse and might even insist that the latter be taken.[10]

582 583 *Dease River Kaska.* Boys married when they could provide sufficient meat and skins for a family, a girl when she was capable of performing household duties and understood the responsibilities of married life, particularly its ideal of faithfulness. Incest rules extended to include one's moiety. Each sex normally secured the parents' consent

[9] Here lies a powerful incentive for two brothers to marry a pair of sisters. Such a marriage readily accommodates the levirate. It would be desirable to know if there is a significant correlation between these two traits when a large series of cultures are compared.

[10] Levirate and sororate have both been reported for the Tlingit. Among these coastal people a nephew sometimes inherited the widow or the niece of a deceased woman might marry the widower. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 129.

Honigmann E-9 (1943-1945)1954 ND13 Nahane ND12
Dease River
Tsetsaut
Upper Liard

to a proposed match. Where such permission was withheld, elopement might follow. The eloping couple then lived alone or, more often, joined another camp. Sometimes angry parents pursued the young people and beat the youth if they caught him. In the normal course of events a young man undertook bride service for a year in the home of his father-in-law. During this period he contrived to have secret sexual relations with his intended spouse. A wealthy father-in-law terminated bride service with a feast, after which the couple were regarded as man and wife. Occasionally fathers arranged engagements between children. Contracted without gift exchange, these agreements were not absolutely binding on the young people and could be abrogated for sufficient cause. Only single men utilized the war party to secure a wife. Residence after marriage was matrilocal.

Sororal polygyny remained limited to wealthy men. Never did a man live with more than two women, plural wives "always got along with each other." The idea of an unrelated woman as co-wife was strongly resented and the presence of such a woman in camp would provoke endless quarreling.[89] Fraternal polyandry existed and is illustrated in a tale reported by Teit, titled "The Deceitful Wife."[90] A woman, married to two brothers, happened to be raped by a war party that prepared to attack her people. The ordeal weakened the woman but the enemy offered her ptarmigan. In return she promised to conceal what had happened. The mother-in-law, however, became suspicious and spoke to her sons. As a result the two husbands sensed danger and proposed to the wife that they all three enjoy a last good meal together. They thereupon killed the woman and fled. An upper Liard River informant reported knowledge of a Dease River Indian who had shared his wife with nine brothers. The ten men alternated in cohabiting with the woman and no trouble ever occurred between them. However, the brothers became extremely jealous when they saw a stranger talk to their wife and reported the incident to the senior husband who warned off the intruder.

Divorce sometimes followed adultery and occasionally a man quit a barren wife. Upon her husband's death a widow became the responsibility of her brother-in-law.

Tsetsaut. People favored marriage between cross cousins. "Its good for them," the informant explained. The levirate and sororate both obtained.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

Upper Liard Kaska. Many Indians did not live to see old age. Others found their declining years filled with waning prestige and dissatisfaction. With menopause cul-

[89] Allard says: "Polygamy existed among them when they were all pagans. One man would take as many wives as conditions would allow. For instance, if he were a good hunter he would take more than one wife. When I visited the Kaska for the first time in 1925, I found no polygamy among them . . . they had never seen a Catholic priest in their country, but being in their native state more moral than the other races of Indians, the influence of their brethern, the Slave, led them easily to abandon polygamy." (Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* [1928], 25.) We feel incined to ascribe the loss of polygyny much more to the influence of the white men who invaded the Dease River valley after 1872. Cf. Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 44-45.

[90] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 441-442.